3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *maté*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *maté* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots, guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *maté;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *maté*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[38]

Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

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[38] *Ibid.*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapûi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.